

649 government soldiers was stationed there and a provincial grade school was established. At present not only have the government troops been withdrawn, but the school has also been closed. The few Han-Chinese families in the village are now under the protection of the Lolo. Wu-chio is an important 487 pass of the Ta-liang Shan, the main thoroughfare to and from the Han-Chinese and Lolo regions. Those Lolo who come to Lei-po to trade with the Han-Chinese would use Wu-chio as their main base.

There are three roads from Lei-po to Huang-mao Kang, all of which start from Wu-chio westward to La-li Kou and then they branch out in three directions. The northern route goes from Chin-p'ing Shan north of Lei-po across Shan-leng Kang and T'ien-chia Wan to Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, whence it climbs up Huang-mao Kang to reach T'e-hsi in the Ta-liang Shan. The southern road starts from La-li Kou through Mu-kou P'o and Yang-tzu Ch'iao to La-mi, and then crosses Huang-mao Kang from La-mi to reach Sheng-chi. Both the northern and southern routes have been traveled by earlier inspection teams. This time the author purposely took the new center route. It starts from La-li Kou, climbs over Ma-ching-tzu, passes through Ting-chia P'ing, Cho-chiao-na-ta, and Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo, and then penetrates into a deep forest before it crosses Huang-mao Kang from Mao-hsi-chü-lieh. On this road there are about 100 li of wild mountains with no villages or inhabitants. After crossing Huang-mao Kang, the road goes directly to Hsiao-lo in Ta-liang Shan.

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[177] Wu-chio has one main street. Most of the inhabitants are white Lolo, who are the wa-tzu [slaves] of the black Lolo of the Hu family. After they have been Sinicized, they are called pai-hsing [subjects]. Except on the street, the houses are widely dispersed; the distance from one house to another is at least about 20 or 30 feet. The whole valley is planted with rice, and the village is quite a wealthy one. Between the mountain peaks to the northwest is a small hamlet, called Shao-shang, which is the household of the chief wife, née Li-ch'ü, of the Hu family head. From here westward villages like Pao-ch'i and P'a-ha are also under the influence of the Hu family. Even Mo-shih and San-chi-wo are also inhabited by households belonging to the Hu family.

About 45 li from Lei-po westward is Ma-chia wan, a small village with only a few thatched houses scattered in the mountain valley. Its inhabitants are the slaves of the A-cho branch, who were also the subjects of the late Yang T'u-szu.

136 to the headman-protector, there were also plenty of tigers and leopards. The author and his company slept one night in an old forest, called Ying-li-lo-ku. Even though we had a campfire during the night, we still felt the bitter cold.

133 In Mao-hsi-chü-lieh area there are some old, deep forests. After passing through them one climbs up to the top of Huang-mao Kang, where the pathway suddenly becomes wide and level, broad enough for an automobile. The top of the mountain is about 3,500 meters above sea level. No trees grow there, but only small grasses which rise and fall with the autumn wind. So the place is called Huang-mao Kang [Yellow Grass Ridge]. West of the ridge, the mountains and streams are bright and beautiful, the farms and fields fresh and green. If one looks toward the far horizon, there is no dividing line between heaven and earth. The whole scene is like the "peach-blossom village," completely secluded from the outside world. Looking back to the east, one sees a different world with mountain precipice and deep chasms in disorderly rows, and old trees and deep grasses, all dark and gloomy.

361 Westward below the ridge, there are the villages of
 621 Ch'iao-tsu-cho-lo on the left slope and Hsiao-lo-na-ta on the right slope, the two just opposite each other. They both belong to the black Lolo of the Wu-ch'i branch. The villages in Ta-liang Shan are also widely dispersed, the houses being about several tens of feet apart. Each house has a mud wall and a wooden ceiling, and is well built. Hsiao-lo-na-ta is about 100 li east of Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo; there is not a single household between these two villages. From here westward about 10 li is Erh-hou village, which also belongs to the Wu-ch'i branch. The whole village is built on a plain from the top of the slope downward to the bank of the stream. In the village stands a modern-style house with white walls, a tiled roof, and a wooden door in the front, painted in red and also carved. [342] It looks like a palace in the wild mountains.

Crossing the stream and walking along the river bank for about 50 li, one reaches Chih-hu-ch'ko village in the territory of the A-cho branch. Inside the village there is a natural pool encircled by big upright white poplar trees. It looks very beautiful and quiet. On the right side of the village is a small ridge, on which one can look down northward at the San-ho-i-ch' stream that comes from Erh-hou village. This stream runs into the San-ho-i-mu river, which the Chinese call the I-ch' Ho. It forms a three-pronged river junction, like the mouth of the three rivers in I-ping, but here the water is very

361 shallow. On the eastern slope of the river junction is San-ho-
 621 i-ta village. About 10 li from this ridge is a small level plain
 right on the slope of the southern bank of the I-ch'ê Ho, where
 the village of Pa-p'u is located. On the slope of the northern
 bank of the I-ch'ê Ho is the village I-lu, in which live the white
 Lolo slaves of the Li-ch'ü branch. The three villages of San-
 ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and I-lu stand at the river junction like the
 three legs of a tripod. They all belong to the territory of the
 Li-ch'ü branch.

From Pa-p'u southward one climbs the mountains to reach
 Nü-hung, a village in the territory of the A-cho branch. Across
 the ridge from Nü-hung is Ta-ch'i [13] in the territory of the
 Wu-ch'i branch, hence also called Wu-ch'i-ta-ch'i. On the
 western ridge of Tai-ch'i is A-cho-erh-p'u; below the ridge is
 Ta-ko-erh-k'o, where live the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch,
 who are the slaves of the Wu-ch'i branch. From Ta-ko-erh-k'o
 northwestward and down the slope there are two level plains:
 the upper plain in the west is Pu-chi-lai-to village, and the
 lower plain in the east is Pu-chi-lai-kuo village. These level
 plains are both located on the slope of the southern bank of the
 I-ch'ê Ho, a little more than 10 li across the ditch from the
 west side of Pa-p'u.

From I-lu village across the I-ch'ê Ho westward is a
 small village belonging to the white Lolo of the Su-chia branch.
 Further westward the road is cut off by tall mountain peaks.
 This area is said to belong to the black Lolo of the A-hou branch,
 the A-hou being a subbranch of the Lolo in the Chao-chüeh area.

About 10 li from San-ho-i-ta northward upstream along
 the I-ch'ê Ho is Ho-ku, a village of the A-cho branch. From
 here northeastward upstream along the San-ho-i-ch'ê is P'u-
 ch'ien village, which also belongs to the A-cho branch. Further
 up is P'u-t'ao-i-ta village of the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch.
 At the back of San-ho-i-ta village are big mountains. Looking
 down from the mountain tops, one sees small villages on all
 sides, so near and distinct that they can be counted by number.
 There are many tall precipices in the north; on the southeast
 is the village of Ta-ch'i, behind which lies Huang-mao Kang;
 from the southeast one can see at a distance the lower reaches
 of the I-ch'ê Ho, where the mountain villages appear indis-
 tinctly in the clouds.

361 The San-ho-i-ta area is the most prosperous region in-
 487 side Ta-liang Shan; it is also the center of communications.
 133 From here westward about 100 li is Niu-niu Pa. It is a very
 important pass, but it is much less populated than San-ho-i-ta.

361 The I-ch'ê Ho flows downward from San-ho-i-ta to Niu-niu Pa,
 487 whence it converges with the Lien-cha-nap Ho to empty into the
 133 Mei-ku Ho. The latter runs southeast into the Liu-t'ung Ho,
 and thence eastward into the Chin-sha Chiang. The entire
 branch forms the main river system in Ta-liang Shan. The
 I-ch'ê Ho is said to have originated from the eastern flank of
 the mountains of Chi-erh-wa-chi south of Wa-hai, but so far
 it has not been proved by exploration. The eastern route from
 San-ho-i-ta northward to Wu-hai passes through Szu-tsu-i-ta
 and En-cha-wa-hsi, the entire distance being about 260 li.
 The western route starts from Jo-ku-yeh-ta east of Niu-niu
 Pa, and then goes northward to Wu-hai across Wu-erh-kuo,
 Hung-chi, and Chi-erh-wa-chi. The distance is about the same
 as the eastern route. As mentioned before, there are three
 routes from San-ho-i-ta eastward to Lei-po, the middle route
 being about 360 li. The road to Chao-chüeh starts southward
 from Pa-p'u and Nü-hung across the mountains; after leaving
 them it first goes eastward to Sheng-chi and then westward to
 Yeh-lu-na-ta. It is about 145 li from Yeh-lu-na-ta to Chao-
 chüeh. Therefore it is estimated that the entire distance from
 Chao-chüeh to San-ho-i-ta is not more than 250 li.

121 The author stayed at the San-ho-i-ta area for some time
 to make various kinds of investigations. Originally we planned
 to go from Sheng-chi [14] through La-mi to Lei-po, but because
 of a dispute among the headmen-protectors we finally decided
 to take the northern route back to Lei-po.

361 Going northeastward for 15 li from San-ho-i-ta, one
 621 reaches Pu-ch'ien. Only a short distance up the slope from
 P'u-ch'ien is Ku-p'eng, a village inhabited heterogeneously
 by the black Lolo of the Li-ch'ü and En-cha branches and the
 white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch. Another 30 li from here lies
 P'u-t'ao-i-ta. Up the slope is another village, P'u-t'ao-hai-
 tsê, of the En-cha branch. Thirty li east of P'u-t'ao-i-ta is
 T'ê-hsi, also translated in the Chinese as T'ien-hsi. It is the
 nearest village outside the mountains on the northern route to
 Huang-mao Kang. South of T'ê-hsi lies P'a-t'o; north of T'ê-
 hsi, Szu-tsu-i-ta. These villages which are linked with En-
 cha-wa-hsi about 100 li further north all belong to the territory
 of the En-cha branch.

487 From T'ê-hsi eastward across Huang-mao Kang lies a
 361 broad main road. After crossing Huang-mao Kang it goes
 downward through an old forest to Ta-ku Tui, about 60 li from
 T'ê-hsi. Ta-ku Tui is a level plain in the valley, about 10 li
 from east to west. It is a very fertile plain suitable for

614 The A-hou and Su-ko branches are both in the Chao-chüeh area in Sikang. A-hou, Su-ko, A-lo, and Ma are the big clans in Chao-chüeh. Although their subbranches are not as numerous as the Lolo branches in Lei-po area, they are very populous and influential and have succeeded in taking over the entire Chao-chüeh county.

After this brief sketch of the Lolo branches in Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan, we can now proceed to investigate the Lolo clan organization. The so-called clan includes all members descended through the paternal lineage. Originally the Lolo did not have any clan name. All kinship members closed ranks under a common ancestor, who gave his name to the branch. This is the way the Li-ch'ü and the Wu-ch'i branches derived their names. Since all the clan members have a common ancestor, even though they are dispersed in different localities they still treat each other as kinsmen. Whenever they meet, they greet each other according to their generation rank. Also they regulate their duties and responsibilities according to their kinship relations.

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361 Lolo clan members live together in a village, but the arrangement of the households in their village is quite different from that in a Han-Chinese village. Their houses do not adjoin each other, but are dispersed on slopes or plains. [18] The distance from one household to another ranges from 20 or 30 feet to several hundred. In each village, the number of households varies from only a few to some 40 or 50. The area of each clan usually includes several villages, some of which are quite close together, only a few li to 20 or more li apart. For example, the Li-ch'ü branch is located on a three-pronged river junction, where the San-ho-i-ch'ê stream flows into the I-ch'ê Ho. Standing on the three slopes are the three villages of San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and I-lu, all of which belong to the Li-ch'ü clan. In Ta-liang Shan, villages such as Li-ch'ü-na-ta, Mi-lo, Li-ch'ü-wa-shih, Pa-ch'i-lo, and others are also populated by members of the Li-ch'ü branch. Sometimes the members of one clan become widely scattered after they move away from the clan village. To take the Li-ch'ü branch as an example, it is not only distributed in different places in Ta-liang Shan, but also widespread in the Pa-chai area east of Huang-mao Kang, as well as in Lan-pa-tzu, T'ien-chia Wan, Ma-ching-tzu, La-li Kou, Wu-kuan-chai-tzu, Ma-liu Wan, and other places.

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62- After members of the clan branch have moved to other places, they usually do not maintain much contact with one

614/ another unless there is a special occasion. The main social
 621 group, therefore, is the clan village, which constitute a unit
 of close relationship. The clan village is based on two factors:
 (1) blood kinship, all clan members being the descendants of a
 common paternal ancestor; (2) geographical area, the village
 being the basis of the living conditions of the people. In other
 words, the clan village is a combination of two important ele-
 ments: blood relationship and geographical relationship. Later
 when we come to discuss the subject of clan feuds, we shall
 see more clearly the importance of the clan village. The tar-
 get of a clan feud is often the enemy village, and to attack it is
 to satisfy the desires for plundering, killing, and kidnapping.
 For this reason, the cohesive force of a clan village is espe-
 cially strong in its aim to preserve the dignity of the clan and
 to protect from enemy invasion the land inherited from clan
 ancestors.

621 The cohesion of a clan village usually relies on the
 political organization within the clan, the leadership of the vil-
 lage head, and other factors. Strangely enough, the Lolo not
 only have no modern political organization, but also no definite
 pattern of leadership. They are unlike the natives of Australia
 where the eldest member of the clan holds political power.
 They are also unlike the Chinese clans of Fukien and Kwang-
 tung where the oldest man of the oldest generation becomes the
 clan chief. Leadership of a Lolo clan depends completely upon
 614/ the individual's ability. All the members of the clan would auto-
 622 matically submit to a man noted for his success in fighting in
 555 the clan feud and for efficiency in managing clan affairs. This
 person [19] must have the courage to fight for justice and to
 take into his own hands the administration of clan affairs. When-
 ever something happens in the village, he assembles all the
 clan members and issues orders. In this way he gradually as-
 sumes the position of leadership. For instance, the leader of
 San-ho-i-ta village was formerly Li-ch'ü Chih-t'ieh, who in
 1940 was employed as pao-t'ou [headman-protector] by the Edu-
 cation Commission of the Szechwan Provincial Government.
 The word pao-t'ou is used by the frontier people to denote a
 black Lolo leader. Anyone who is strong enough to protect
 other members of the clan and their wa-tzu [slaves] and prop-
 erty automatically becomes a pao-t'ou. So the Han-Chinese
 who come to a black Lolo for protection also call him pao-t'ou.
 Chih-t'ieh, the most influential black Lolo in San-ho-i-ta vil-
 lage, was called ying tu-tu by the natives. This is a Lolo term
 for a very influential and powerful man, and the greater his

159 attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-
622 mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of
581 the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, be-
177 cause of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of
worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines
[i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his
[595] father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he
took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of con-
tinuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay
with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good
connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and
influence grew day by day. The strong family background of
his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his
multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became
one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-
Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's
name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

621 Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo
177 areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed
563 by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with
occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo,
so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social
organization. It is an important communication center between
the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Ta-
liang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the ten-
sion between the two groups without an intelligent and capable
leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or
614 six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young
622 children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had
627 two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih)
had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss
of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle
[581 [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu
587] Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to
succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom,
the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother,
his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But
[614] Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly
asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's
family was weak and had no male member, but his elder ma-
ternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i
Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death
and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There
were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

614 just like a woman chieftain, is due to the strength of her par-
 622 ents' family. Since her elder brother, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, has
 been traveling frequently to Wu-chio to help manage her affairs,
 no one dares to challenge her power in the village. This, of
 course, is not a permanent solution, and Li-ch'ü shih [23] her-
 self is well aware of it. She has confided to the author that it
 was unfortunate that she did not produce a male heir. She is
 [589 not yet thirty-one and according to Lolo custom could very well
 177 remarry, but she repeatedly pronounced that she would remain
 a widow all her life in observance of Chinese tradition. As Wu-
 chio is an area in which Chinese and Lolo cultures intermingle,
 the development of this community depends entirely upon the
 relationship between the two groups.

621 The cohesive force in the clan village becomes strong
 614 if there is a recognized leader supported by all the people.
 721 Whenever something occurs, once the leader has issued a sum-
 mons, all the male adults of the village immediately assemble
 to take orders from him, either to undertake an expedition to
 fight in a clan feud or to station themselves in front of the vil-
 lage to protect the clan members from enemy invasion. Since
 the Lolo at Ma-liu Wan had made enemies of the soldiers sta-
 tioned at Lei-po, anytime they heard of a movement of the
 soldiers, Ta-i would gather together several dozen men to lay
 in ambush at the slope in front of Shan-wang Miao so as to deal
 the government soldiers a severe blow when they passed Chin-
 chu Tsui at the foot of the slope. Armed clashes between gov-
 ernment troops and Lolo people have occurred frequently.
 After the incident of Hu Ch'ang-pao's death, Wu-ch'i Ku-pao
 made several surprise attacks on the village of Wu-chio, kill-
 ing, plundering, and seizing animals. As head of the village,
 Li-ch'ü shih, although a woman, would personally direct her
 steward, Ts'ai Pao-chang, to assemble the village people to
 resist the enemy. At that time, Chinese soldiers were still
 stationed in Wu-chio, and since Li-ch'ü shih was the chief of
 the village ward, appointed by the government, the soldiers
 also undertook to help her in the defense. Therefore the main
 factor maintaining the clan village as a unit is the union of the
 clan members, whose combined strength would enable them to
 protect the villagers' life and property and also to gain lasting
 independence for the village.

564 A clan leader should always demonstrate a courageous
 156 spirit and place himself at the front of a combat, thereby win-
 703 ning the respect and obedience of the people. This is not only
 554 true of the leader, but also of all the black Lolo in the clan.
 They, too, should be brave enough to lead the white Lolo slaves

156 and Ting-chia P'ing belonged to the sphere of influence of the
 554 Pu-chi branch which was an enemy of the Li-ch'ü, and that
 622 there was bound to be a conflict if Ta-chi should lead the way
 614 and was stopped by the Pu-chi clan. So he ordered a member
 of the A-cho clan, who had no feud with the Pu-chi, to guide
 us. In this way there would be no occasion for a fight and no
 danger on the road. This is evidence of Ta-chi's tactfulness.

614 The maintenance of clan order depends upon the close
 627 union and co-operation of a wise, brave leader and the sub-
 jects who support him. Any conflict or quarrel that arises in
 the village is always settled by the black Lolo master, whose
 decision is obeyed by the white Lolo. As for a dispute among
 the black Lolo themselves, it is usually arbitrated by influen-
 tial, responsible persons, such as village leaders, or pao-
 [888] t'ou. Clan members rely upon an older person for his rich
 experience and superior judgment, and his words are consid-
 622 ered model utterances to be followed by all. When an older
 628 person is a responsible village leader, he need not participate
 887 personally in a clan feud; instead, he could stay in the village
 to make plans and to send out his younger brothers, sons,
 brother's sons, and others to head the expedition. The leader
 of Pa-p'u village, Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha, is a big, stalwart, and
 well-experienced old black Lolo. Because of his age, he al-
 ways stays at home and sends his nephew, Lao-mu, to settle
 village affairs. Only twenty-five, Lao-mu is known for his
 [554] bravery. Once he captured singlehandedly three Han-Chinese
 slaves, who were fleeing from Ta-liang Shan, in an old forest
 at Ying-li-lo-ku on the east side of Huang-mao Kang. This
 [115] time when our inspection team entered the mountains, Ta-chi
 [25] employed Lao-mu as the second headman-protector, part-
 ly because Lao-mu has the backing of his uncle [father's elder
 blood brother] Hsiao-ha, who is the number one ying tu-tu of
 the Li-ch'ü branch.

621 The entire Li-ch'ü branch has its center in the region
 614 where the waters of the I-ch'ê Ho and the San-ho-i-chê con-
 [162] verge. It includes Pa-p'u, I-lu, and San-ho-i-ta with a total
 population of more than a hundred households. Of these, only
 14 are black Lolo, the others being white Lolo. Li-ch'ü
 622 Hsiao-ha is not only the leader of Pa-p'u village, but also the
 554 head of the entire Li-ch'ü branch. The Lolo of Liang Shan all
 614 call him "A-lo Wu-hêh," and none dares call him by his first
 name, Hsiao-ha. To call him A-lo, the original ancestor of
 the clan, from which the Li-ch'ü has branched out, is to show
 him respect. Wu-hêh is a term of respect in the Lolo lan-
 guage. In the entire Li-ch'ü branch, only one person can be

463 black Lolo tend sheep themselves and do not consider animal husbandry a mean job as farming is. Furthermore, 564 every year during the shearing season, the black Lolo usually participate in the work; they especially take the leading 233 part in the "wool fair" at Huang-mao Kang.

174 The fact that the Lolo look down upon farming gives the 564 author the impression that animal husbandry was originally the main economic activity of the black Lolo and that the Lolo were formerly a pastoral people. It was only after the conquest of the white Lolo and the capture of the Han-Chinese as slaves that the black Lolo started farming by forcing the conquered people to cultivate the land. Most of the white Lolo were originally Han-Chinese [62] who, having lived in the Lolo territory for many years, forgot their Han-Chinese ancestry and considered themselves as Lolo. This point will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, "Classes." Here it suffices to mention briefly that the difference in the Lolo attitude towards grazing and farming may be attributed to the differences in the former economic life of the black and white Lolo, or in the relationship of the conqueror and conquered.

241 Agriculture, however, is the most popular enterprise 564 in the Lolo area today. Although the black Lolo do not cultivate the land themselves, the white Lolo, who constitute 80 to 176 90 per cent of the total population, are all engaged in farming. Provisions for both black and white Lolo depend upon the produce from the fields. In other words, agriculture is the main economic stay of the Lolo who have, however, a special system of their own in agricultural activity.

423 In Lolo villages, all arable land is the property of the 564 black Lolo. Due to the many divisions and branches within the clan, to the new economic units formed by the grown-up children at the time of their marriage, and to the inheritance of land by male heirs after the death of their father or grandfather, each black Lolo family has its own plot of land. In other words, the right of land ownership is geared to the family unit. This, however, applies only to the arable land for agricultural production and is quite different from the outlying village land, which has no clear-cut boundaries. The 423 village district includes the dwellings, the land or field 621 encircling each house, the outer grazing land, and even the forests, mountain streams, and rivers. Actually only the house and the field constitute the land owned by each family, while the outlying pasture and forest are the common property of the entire village. Everybody has the right to use them, including all outside people who are not clan enemies. Different

423 Lolo groups usually have many enemies, particularly those in neighboring villages. Clan enemies are prohibited from entering the village. Whenever they cross the border and are discovered, they are usually killed or captured. Therefore, although the boundary of each village is not distinctly drawn, there is always a neutral fringe area where the people of both villages, if they happen to be enemies, dare not trespass. This kind of boundary has a tribal political significance, quite different from the family-owned land.

567 The black Lolo master employs household slaves to cultivate the land. In case the number of slaves has increased considerably and the house is too small for them, the master sends those who have served him faithfully for a long time to build houses of their own in separate units. The master may give each family a certain amount of land or the family may rent some arable land to supply its needs. Gradually, after a long period of time, the slave would be freed economically from his master's control; he would have his own land to cultivate and his own household to manage. [63] Hence there are today in the Lolo villages many independent white Lolo households which, except that they have to accept the rule and protection of the black Lolo and to assume certain responsibilities and duties, have a self-supporting economic life. These white Lolo are called "subjects" (pai-hsing) by those who have been Sinicized. Actually the "subjects" are still slaves, although they have a higher social position than the household slaves.

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[804] The Lolo have no unit for measuring land which is always referred to in terms of pieces or sections without any reference to the exact acreage. Therefore it is very difficult to estimate the area of their cultivated land. It is possible, however, to get a general idea of the acreage through the cultivation or production figures for each piece of land. Take, for instance, corn, the most important agricultural product in the Lolo area. On the average, a person is able to cultivate each year from 6 sheng [a sheng is equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] to 2 tou [a tou is 10 sheng] of corn seed. Both sheng and tou are measurements adopted from the Han-Chinese. If [177] the 6-sheng cultivation unit is taken as the basis of calculation, then the harvest will be around 40 market tou. In the districts around southern Szechwan, the average yield for one mu [about one-sixth of an acre] of land is about 15 market tou. So 40 tou is equivalent to the yield of two and a half mu, which is therefore the minimum cultivated acreage per person in the Lolo area.

564 sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
 628 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
 627 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead
 to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other
 hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master
 have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate
 and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle
 as an expression of gratitude.

621 In a one-clan village, where there is only one black
 564 Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their
 lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly,
 but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two
 clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders
 of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without
 being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white
 "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches
 for added protection. To pay respects to his other master, the white
 Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation
 gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes
 wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges
 all the obligations of a "subject."

[431] The Ch'è-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to
 [614] the Wu-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the
 headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which
 is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare
 for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition
 and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the
 "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different
 black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community.
 Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the
 relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple
 with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping,
 and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
 567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo
 family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household
 slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo
 could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture
 or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called san-t'an wa-tzu.
 The white Lolo serve only their black master [78] whereas the
 Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of
 Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally
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628 is then thrown into the centre of the boiling water. The
 695 slave champions then come forward. In turn each has to attempt to snatch the egg out of the water, using only the bare hand and arm to do so. The actual snatching is preceded by the chanting of the assembled wizards and by a protest of innocence on the part of both sides. Providence is expected to favour the innocent by blowing the steam away from their champion, towards the other side, and by some remarkable movement at the same time blowing the egg towards the edge of the pan nearest him. It is easy in such a case to snatch the egg out without harm. Burning of the hand and arm is taken as a sign of guilt.

This Nosu trial by ordeal is somewhat similar to that so common among the Chinese. With the latter oil is often used instead of water. The champions have to thrust their arms into the boiling oil, and the absence of burning is similarly taken as the sign of innocence. Needless to say, it is nothing of the kind.

618 When we got comfortably settled into Ah-Pooh's home,
 621 and had got used to the light of the darkness, we began to find out a few particulars about the people with whom we were staying. We were told that Ah-Pooh had two sons living, five grandsons and two granddaughters. His clan of the Nhe family numbered nearly six hundred young fighting men. The neighbouring family, the La-chee, could muster fifteen hundred. All these people were very keen on preventing the chief Too, the leader in the great burning raid, from lording it over them. They were very anxious to know whether I could help them to bring about a better state of affairs, in which they could go about their daily rounds peaceably. It turned out later on that it was easier to help

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them than we imagined. Chief Too also did not live very 618
long after the raid, and the villages which we visited suffered 621
no more from his ambitious projects.

The magic-lantern, the telescope, the camera and the tall 000
Munchausen stories my companions told evidently convinced
the people that the bear-like Nosu from the land of the sunset
was a man having control of great powers, which would be
very advantageous to those who were fortunate enough to
gain his assistance. It is an amusing situation to be placed
in, when those around you fancy you are somebody you are
not. They wish very much that you should play up to the
rôle they have in their imagination assigned to you. How
many times in China has one been placed in such a situation!
And how often has a missionary come a bad cropper when he
has tried, out of the kindness of his heart, to be what his
friends wanted him to be. I was only too willing and ready
to render all the help I could to the hospitable hill-people,
but the greatest of helps I wished to render them was not
just what they were at that time wanting. There was an
idea among a number of these people that if they could only
get in a friendly outsider who was not mixed up in any of their
land quarrels, and who wished them all well, possibly this
disinterested friend might pull them all together and settle
their constant tribal fightings which some were wise enough
to see were weakening them all. By-and-by their plans
unfolded themselves more clearly, and a scheme was devised
which some of the wise ones thought would exactly achieve
their purposes.

The first thing done was to adopt me into one of the clans 597
and give me a Nosu name. This I readily agreed to, and was 123
glad to be an adopted son of the great Nhe clan, rejoicing in

is in Chao-ch'ieh hsien west of Huang-mao-heng, and east of the Mei-ku River.

In the past, because of the isolation of the various tribes along the Chinese frontier, the Government did not exercise real and complete control over them. These tribes were able to establish their own rules and select their own leaders. After having conquered them, however, the Chinese have tried to win over these frontier people by appointing their leaders to the official posts of t'u-ssu /tribal chief/, t'u-ch'ien-hu /tribal head of 1,000 families/, etc., and to gain their ends through this indirect control. This is also the situation found in some of the Lolo regions, as well as in the Lolo district of Yuen-sui hsien, where likewise those who have been given the title of t'u-ssu do not have the actual functions of the office. But it is not true of Liang-shan where organization is very lax and the people are divided into several independent branches called chia /families/. According to a study made by Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, the most important branch in Lei-po hsien is the En-cha chia, also called the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--the combined name for Kan chia and P'u-t'ien chia--which is further divided into 11 branches: K'ung-p'u, Tou-o, Shih-kang, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-mien, A-chih, /98/ Wu-p'ao (also named Wu-p'o), Nuan-o, etc., thus constituting altogether 12 branches in the Kan P'u-t'ien chia. There are two more chia, the A-cho and A-lo (also named A-lu), which are very ruthless. These branches have always been the chief troublemakers in Lei-po hsien, where the I troubles were consequently the worst of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. A-hou, Su-ko, and A-lo constitute the three chief branches in Chao-ch'ieh and have such substantial power that they once threatened to seize the entire hsien. The I of Ma-pien have always been divided into three groups: the center and left groups, consisting entirely of the members of the Wu-p'o chia, very seldom revolt; the right group alone, with branches called Hou-p'u and Shui-p'u--both belonging to the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--causes more damage. The Lolo of O-pien are said to consist of 13 branches, but they belong in reality to the same clan as the Kan chia. Formerly a member of the Kan chia named "Chao-tzu" had four sons, from whom sprang the 13 branches that live along the border of Ô-pien hsien. They are generally docile and not prosperous, and cause very little damage. I troubles in O-pien have therefore never been as violent as those in Lei-po and Chao-ch'ieh.

All the chia mentioned above are Heh-I branches, and the names are transliterations of I words. The Wa-tzu belong to their

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- 62/ masters and do not form branches of their own. The chia names of the Heh-I correspond probably to the family names of the Chinese; e. g., En-cha chia, Wu-p'o chia, Mo-shih chia, etc., correspond to our Wang (Wang chia), Chang, Li, etc. The Heh-I use their chia names as their family names, and have given names in addition; e. g., the full name of the present head of Mo-shih chia is Mo-shih T'ieh-ha. The Wa-tzu also have family names but do not constitute additional branches; e. g., a Wa-tzu of Wu-p'o chia is called Mu-chia Wu-ch'i, Mu-chia being his family name and Wu-ch'i his given name, but in addressing others he always refers to himself as "Wu-p'o chia's Wa-tzu, Mu-chia Wu-ch'i," in order to show the Heh-I branch to which he belongs.

131 From personal experience and from friends' accounts, it is known that the various Heh-I branches in the section of Liang-shan (from Chao-ch'ieh to Lei-po) visited by the author himself are distributed more or less in the following manner: The chief branches in the vicinity of Chao-ch'ieh hsien are the Pa-chu chia--fierce, and frequently attacking the hsien city--and the comparatively more friendly Wa-cha chia. Toward the east, in the vicinity of Chu-heh-suo, is the Ma chia, a large clan inhabiting the bulk of the region between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-ch'ieh. Further east, the Wu-p'o chia (also known as the Wu-p'ao)--less populous, friendly and weak--is the principal group inhabiting the region on the route northward to O-pien. Still further east, past the Mei-ku River, is the territory of the A-lu chia, who are a typical Sheng-I people, /99/ ruthless, treacherous, and difficult to deal with. Past the Mei-ku River, around the section of Yeh-lu-na-ta, is the territory of the Mo-shih chia, a small clan in Liang-shan. In spite of its situation in the midst of the Sheng-I, it has always been friendly with others and has only a few enemies. (En-cha chia is its only enemy.) It is therefore safer not only for the Chinese (including the academic groups and the ordinary merchants) to engage this chia as protector, but also for the I when they go out shopping and have to pass through enemy territory. Mo-shih chia is the most popular in the I region, and seems better disposed toward the Chinese. The territory from the east of Mo-shih chia to Huang-mao-keng is under the dominance of the A-hou chia, which is the most populous as well as the fiercest clan in Liang-shan, indulging continuously in murder and plunder. With the exception of some temporary sheepfolds in the area, there is generally no habitation at the summit of Huang-mao-keng. There are, however, scattered

branches of the Heh-I surrounding this mountain range: on the west the A-lu chia, on the north the A-hou chia, on the south the Sha-ma chia, and on the east the Wu-ch'i chia. With the exception of the A-hou chia, the Wu-ch'i (also called Mu-ch'i, Wu-ch'i, or A-cho) and En-su are the most numerous and the most ruthless groups; they are the chief occupants of the territory east of Huang-mao-keng in the section of Hsiao Liang-shan close to the mountain summit. This district is also inhabited by the friendly P'u-ch'i chia (also called P'u-chi). Descending the mountain and approaching Lei-po, one finds the quiet and peaceful Heh-I of Hu chia. The foregoing statements are all based on the author's personal knowledge. 131

One might compare the Lolo of Liang-shan to scattered sand. The Heh-I are separated into branches of different sizes and strength and are not interdependent. Needless to say, the weaker branches must at times submit to the stronger, but in theory at least, they are entirely equal; no branch is required to obey another, and there is no such thing as central organization or ruler-and-subject relationship. The relation between the separate branches of a chia, compared to the relation between different chia, is much closer. An elderly and capable Heh-I may often become a natural leader, tacitly accepted by everyone, and may govern and lead his chia without a formal grant of power. Mo-shih T'ieh-ha, who lives in Yeh-lu-na-ta, is an example of this type of leader. He may represent his chia, participate in the conferences called by the Chinese officials or in the joint conferences of the various branches of Heh-I. 621

Every chia in the I region of Liang-shan occupies a definite area and forms a sort of independent little state. The I of the same branch are closely tied, exchange mutual aid and care, and fight together when oppressed by another branch. The Heh-I of different branches, if related by marriage, /100/ exchange similar aid. Otherwise the habitual practice of the two I branches which are in no way connected is non-interference or incessant warfare--if they are enemies. The Lolo of the Liang-shan region can be persuaded to join forces only for opposition to the Chinese; on such an occasion they temporarily forget their enmity, discard former grievances, and unite against a common enemy. Thus they seem to display the spirit of "brothers who end their own strifes so as to resist outside aggression." Co-operative measures are then decided upon jointly through consultation of their leaders. Thus it may be said that a kind of primitive,

- 621 democratic government exists in the I region of Liang-shan. The ability to unite, which may account partly for the difficulty of conquering them, is something which the Chinese should imitate. As the Lolo become more sinified, however, these virtues are gradually lost. In the region close to the Chinese there have recently been groups of warring Lolo who are anxious to submit to the Chinese in order to be able to defeat their Lolo enemies /with Chinese assistance/. Chinese officials often take advantage of these conditions to subjugate the I. This corrupt racial characteristic should not be further encouraged even for the sake of "accomplishing a greater good." These manifestations are nevertheless still rare in the I region of Liang-shan for its people have not yet been tainted with the many bad habits of the Chinese.

A SKETCH OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF

THE LOLO

- 241 High altitude and cold weather account for Liang-shan's inadequate agricultural production. Furthermore the Lolo have a low civilization and do not know how to develop their agriculture fully.
- 511 For this reason they still lead a primitive and hard life similar to that in the medieval ages, or, even to that of remote antiquity, while people in the not too distant city of Hsi-ch'ang enjoy 1941 standards of living. The difference between the living standards of the frontier Chinese and the Lolo is greater than the difference between those of the Chinese and the more prosperous peoples of Europe and America. There has always been a saying prevalent at the Szechwan frontier: "Break open Wan-shih-p'ing, and no poor man will be left in the world." Probably this slogan meant originally to encourage the Chinese to penetrate into the Lolo region, but it soon led to the erroneous belief that Liang-shan was of extraordinary richness, that in the very center of Wan-shih-p'ing there were mountains of gold, silver and riches, and that if one did not mind the fierceness of the Lolo /101/ and penetrated into their region, the wealth gained there could be used to assist the poor and thus sweep poverty away from the world. According to another saying, in Wan-shih-p'ing there were extremely large, highly productive rice fields, which could provide food for a large number of people. These sayings actually have no basis and do not correspond at all to reality.

[179 cont.]

534 The other tribes also make guitars with long necks and with two or three strings, and the big flutes with a single tube formed of a long reed which fits into a calabash.

631 The "Lolo" groupings settled in Tonkin are too dispersed and too mixed up with the groupings of other races to have their own administration.

622 The "Lolo" hamlets or villages are headed by a "siao-phay,"
631 who administratively comes under the control of either a "Méo"
648 "ping-t'éou" or a "Lolo" "tcha-tao" (where several "Lolo" villages are contiguous), or a "Thai" "ly-truong."

In principle, the chiefs are chosen from the tribe which has the numerical preponderance, it is thus that small "Méo" settlements attached to more important "Lolo" settlements are under the authority of a "Lolo" chief.

● 621 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, separated for many centuries from the larger groupings from which they originated, have retained no vestige or definite recollection of their former organization.

593 The family constitutes the true social unit. Property rights and
428 the customs of inheritance show some special characteristics, whose purpose is to assure the transmission of the property within the family of the husband.

423 The "Lolo" is the owner of his irrigated rice fields, which he disposes of as he wishes. He considers himself as only the usufructuary of the mountain areas cultivated.

768 When the head of a family dies, his goods, real and personal,
428 are divided among his male children. In default of male children, the belongings are divided in half, one part goes to the wife of the deceased, the other part to the brothers and nephews of the husband. When the wife dies in her turn, her part reverts likewise to the brothers and nephews of the husband.

The mountain areas are subject to a similar division, but without losing the character of usufruct. Also, if one of the male children or one of the other heirs is unable to cultivate the entire portion that has come to him, the uncultivated excess again becomes common property and cannot be sold to other families.